1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of Ladák, but to the north of *Ngari*, lies the extensive province of *Chang Thang*, or the "northern plains." Ladák itself is called Mar-yul or Low-land, perhaps from its inferior elevation to all the surrounding districts.

Nubra,* or the north-western district of Ladák, includes all the country drained by the Nubra and Shayok rivers. It is by far the largest district in the country, being about 128 miles in length by 72 miles in breadth, with an area of 9,200 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Kárákoram mountains, and on the south by the Kailas range, which divides the Indus from the Shayok; and it extends from the frontier of Balti, in east longitude 77°, to the Pangkong lake on the borders of Rudok. The mean elevation of the inhabited parts of the country, from an average of fourteen observations at different places, is 12,763 feet.

Ladák is the central and most populous district of the country, from which it is sometimes called *Mang-yul*, or the "district of many people." It stretches along the Indus in a north-westerly direction from Rukchu to the frontier of Balti, a length of 120 miles, with an average breadth of 33 miles. Its area is about 4,000 square miles, and the mean elevation of the inhabited portions, as deduced from observations along the Indus, is 11,500 feet.

Zanskar includes all the country lying along the two great branches of the Zanskar river, in a general direction from south-east to north-west. It is bounded by Ladák on the north, by Rukchu on the east, by Lahul on the south, and by the small districts of Purik and Wanla on the west. The southern boundary is formed by the

* *Nub-ra*, western.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

XI.—PEOPLE.

I.—POPULATION.

In A.D. 1822 Moorcroft* estimated the population of Ladák at about 165,000 persons, of whom he thought that not less than two-thirds were females. But Csoma de Körös,† who resided for some time in Zanskar, shortly after Moorcroft's visit, says the people of Ladák consisted of 20,000 families. Now, by an accurate census of the two Botian districts of Lahul and of Spiti, it appears that the average number of persons in one family is 6·7. As the different climates of these two districts exhibit the extremes of the Ladáki climate, the mean of the two may be taken as fairly representing the true number of persons in each house or family throughout Ladák. At this rate the 20,000 families of Csoma de Körös would amount to no more than 134,000 persons; to whom must be added about 12,000 lamas and nuns, who dwell apart in the monasteries and convents; thus making the whole population of Ladák (between 1820 and 1830) not more than 146,000 persons. But this estimate is certainly too low.

The information which I obtained in 1847 was derived from various independent sources, all of which agreed

* Travels, I. p. 320.

† Journal As. Soc. Bengal, I. p. 121. Geographical notice of Tibet.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

161 [157] in stating that the total number of houses was formerly 24,000, of which only 18,000 paid the house-tax. At the rate of 6·7 persons per house, the lay population would have been 160,800, and the whole population [162] 172,800. But as the result of Moorcroft's inquiries gave a rate of little more than six persons per house, a mean rate of about six persons and a half per house may be taken as the nearest approximation to the true rate. This rate will give a lay population of 156,000, and a total population of 168,000 persons. As this number agrees so nearly with Moorcroft's estimate, it may be assumed to be tolerably correct.

793 162 In stating the number of professed religionists at 12,000, I have been guided only by the vague statements of the people. Some asserted that the number of lamas and nuns formerly amounted to 20,000; but the more general reckoning was only ten or twelve thousand. The total amount of population (between 1820 and 1830) was therefore most probably about 165,000 persons, as estimated by Moorcroft.

161 702 The correctness of this estimate seems to be borne out by the following statement. In 1834, when the Gyalpo called upon all the people to join in repelling the invasion of Zoráwar Sing, he is said to have collected a body of 22,000 men. As the number of houses was 24,000, and as each house was bound to furnish one soldier, the number of fighting men should have been 24,000. But the difference is fully accounted for by the ascertained loss of 14,000 persons by small-pox just before the invasion; for as one-fourth of these must have been grown-up males, the number of soldiers collected ought not to have exceeded 21,500; and making allowances for illness and other causes, was

798 or about 9,000 persons, are said to have left their native land, and to have found refuge in the numerous monasteries of Great Tibet.

727 During the wars from 1834 to the close of 1841, it is said that about 15,000 Ladákis perished, and that about 1,000 (who were chiefly Musalmans) emigrated to Balti and the neighbouring districts. Of the 4,000 Ladákis who accompanied Zoráwar Sing on his inroad into the Lhasan territory, it is well known that nearly the whole perished in the snow. A few made their way back to Ladák; and some four or five hundred, who were made prisoners, are said to be most strictly confined at Lhasa.

• 162 In 1847 I found, by a census of 1,890 houses, that the 161 average number of persons per house was 4·147; but as a very considerable number of people were absent from their homes, the true rate per house could not have been less than five persons, or about the same as that of the district of Spiti, which I ascertained to be 5·3 persons per house. The number of inhabited houses is said to be 23,000, which at this rate, and allowing the present number of lamas and nuns to be only 3,000, will make the total amount of the population 124,900, or in round 161 numbers, 125,000 persons. The decrease in the population, since Moorcroft's time, is, therefore, not less than 40,000 persons. The causes of this decrease are the following:—

	Persons.
Carried off by small-pox in 1834	14,000
Lamas emigrated	9,000
Perished during the wars	15,000
Emigrated (chiefly Musalmans)	1,000
Total decrease	40,000
Moorcroft's census	165,000
Present census	125,000

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Including Spiti and Láhul, the present population is therefore not more than 4·333 persons per square mile. /61

The census of the two districts of Spiti and Láhul is as follows:— 162

——	Villages	Houses.	Males.			Females.			Total Persons	Persons per House.	Houses per Village.
			Men.	Boys.	Total.	Women	Girls.	Total.			
Spiti ..	38	262	460	226	686	503	218	721	1,407	5·3	6·9
Lahul ..	43	594	1,033	1,470	2,503	1,389	945	2,334	4,837	8·1	13·8
Total ..	81	856			3,189			3,055	6,244	6·7	10·8

Neither of these districts is so well peopled as Ladák, the number of persons per square mile being 2·58 in Láhul and only ·608 in the barren and rocky Spiti.

In 1847 I made a census of most of the villages along my route through Ladák, which embraced about one-twelfth part of the whole country.

The following table shows the relative numbers of males and females in the Buddhist country of Ladák, compared with the same in the various Musalman districts on the Indus.

——	Villages	Houses.	Males.			Females.			Total Persons	Persons per House.	Houses per Village.
			Men.	Boys.	Total.	Women	Girls.	Total.			
Ladák ..	142	1,890			3,646			4,192	7,838	4·147	13·3
Balti, &c.	158	6,406			13,662			13,387	23,394	4·235	34·4
					17,308			17,579		4·181	23·85

In the Buddhist country it will be observed that the females outnumber the males, while the reverse is the case in the Musalman districts along the Indus. This is just what might have been expected from the different habits of the people. The Musalmani girl is married at ten or twelve years of age, and becomes a mother before she has acquired either the strength or stature of a

their women occasionally turn Buddhist for the sake of marrying 563
a well-to-do Ladáki, it is much more unusual for them to do 583
so than for Ladaki women to turn Mahomedan. 797

It follows, therefore, that the árGHón population of Ladák, (con- [162]
fined almost entirely to the town of Leh and its immediate
vicinity) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist popula-
tion.

The language of the arGHons is Tibetan, and they affect Mahomed- 197
anism. They go to the Musjid to pray, they can repeat the 563
"Kalma" or "declaration of faith," and they know the ordinary
ritual, this is enough for them, and they think themselves very
good Mahomedans.

When left to themselves, the Ladákis were free from religious big- 798
otry, and their womenkind scorned to hide their faces from the
public gaze; but since the Dogra conquest of the country, they 178
have (excepting for about 10 years, when there was an English 177
Governor of Ladák), been ruled over by Wazirs, some of them 583
Hindus and some of them Mahomedans, but all of them in- 562
habitants of India, and the result is, that Ladák is being slowly, 575
but surely, impregnated with the barbarous Indian ideas in
connection with religion and matrimony. Already the
árGHóns are beginning to shut their women up in Zananas,
while the árGHón women as often as not, veil their faces
when pass-[57]ing strangers in the streets. Child marriages
are becoming more common, and the people are being taught
that polyandry, that invaluable safe guard against over popu-
lation, with its inevitable consequences of poverty, disease,
misery and crime, is disgraceful.

Mr. Drew gives the ArGHóns a very bad character, he says "the half 114
castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in 563
other respects they are of worse character than either of the
races they spring from." I have been in Ladák for over four
years, and have had a good deal more experience of Ladákis
than Mr. Drew had, and I have no hesitation in saying that he
has maligned them, as a whole.

Under the "nikah" system, it of course happens that in the course of 563
half a dozen years, a woman may have had half a dozen dif- 583
ferent husbands, and as many different families. In such 851
cases the children of all but the last husband, are homeless 114
waifs, and develop into persons such as Mr. Drew describes,
but it also frequently happens that "nikah" marriages are not

WT Jiksten-gonpo.
779 VIII.--Staglungpa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Namgiál-
792 tratshang near Lhása.
795 IX.--Hlondukpa. At Stagna (or Staghna), Head-quarter monastery
T is at Spungthangdeychhen near Lhása.
792 From this it is clear that the Lámas of Ladák are, to a man, sub-
795 ordinate to the Lhása Lámas. It is estimated that about one-
779 sixth of the entire population of Ladák consists of monks (Láma)
WT and nuns (Chómo), who practically speaking, live upon the rest
●162 of the community. The monasteries hold extensive lands, for
792 which they do not pay anything like so heavy a rent as ordinary
423 villagers have to pay; and not only are they free from the very
651 burdensome duty of supplying "beygar" or "unpaid labour," which
241 is thereby increased for the rest of the population, but they also get their lands, to a very great extent, cultivated for them by the villagers.

WT There are altogether, including hamlets, some 98 villages in Ladak,
361 and of these the 61 largest villages were surveyed in 1885 by
621 Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, the then Wazir of Ladak who
241 found that the whole cultivated area of these villages amounted
651 to 17,641 acres, which paid a revenue of Rs. 36,326, the apportionment being as follows:--

(a) 14,140 acres held by villagers at Rs. 2·4 per acre.
(b) 1,321 acres held by State Officials at Rs. 1·4 per acre.
(c) 2,210 acres held by Lámas Rs. 43 per acre.

This shows clearly that Lamas pay for their land at about one-sixth
WT the rate which an ordinary cultivator would have to pay.
661 As a matter of fact, this state of affairs is the result of judicious
792 bribery oft repeated, for whenever officials have been deputed to
241 make inquiries, etc. about the land tax, they have always been
651 bribed by the Lámás, not to look too closely into monastery af-
423 fairs. The Lámás have thus retained possession of a great deal of land, regarding the existence of which nothing was known to the head-quarter officials, and for which they have never paid
WT any revenue whatsoever.
792 The monks of the monasteries, of both the yellow and red sects, are
795 divided into two main classes, viz., those who attend to spiritual affairs and those who attend to worldly affairs. The former class is termed "geydun" or vulgarly, "gendun" or

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER III.

THE PEOPLE.

SECTION A.—STATISTICAL.

161

Chapter III, A.
Statistical.
Distribution of population.

The general distribution of population is discussed in Part I (page 52 *et seq.*) The population is naturally exceedingly sparse, being only 2·6 souls per square mile in Láhaul and 1·3 in Spiti. But in the former there are over 1,200 and in the latter about 1,000 souls to each square mile of cultivation. In Spiti we have a smaller number of souls per house and family than is recorded for any other portion of the Punjáb. The quotation from Mr. Anderson at page 21 explains the reason, and describes the constitution of the family in this wild Tibetan valley.

Increase and decrease of population.

[167]

The figures for successive enumerations are given in Part I (page 54). Mr. Lyall is of opinion that the huge increase shown in the population of Láhaul between 1855 and 1868 is due to more careful enumeration; though he remarks that there can be no doubt that the population did increase considerably by natural growth; and in a small degree by immigration from Zánskár and other countries to the north-west. With respect to Spiti, he there also attributes the great increase "mainly to better enumeration; for the population increases very slowly owing to the family arrangements which I have described, and the number of immigrants from Tibet has been inconsiderable." The increase since 1868 is thus discussed by Mr. Anderson:—

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"In spite of these figures I am of opinion that there has been considerable increase of population in Láhaul. The Census of 1868 was taken after the pass leading from Kúlu to Láhaul was open, and so far as I am aware, no attempt was made to prevent double enumeration. The number given by the Census of 1881 shows the population that spent the winter in Láhaul. The number of Láhaulis in Kúlu in winter was great, and there were probably a good many in Simla also. Their presence in Lág Mahárája and Sahri accounts in part for the great increase in these *wazírís*. Láhaul has been very prosperous in trade, and generally prosperous in cultivation. Cultivation cannot extend much, as without irrigation there is no crop, but this has not much effect, as food is cheap in Kúlu and the Láhaulis are great carriers. The missionaries at Keylang have told me that they know that large sums of money are brought into Láhaul, though in outward appearances the people do not show much improvement. I think that probably the increase in Láhaul has been equal to that of Kulu.

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[312]

"The population of Spiti in 1868 was 1,511 men and 1,513 women, total 3,024, and now it is shown as 1,358 men and 1,504 women, total 2,862. The decrease of 162 is almost entirely among the males, and this is in part due to the exclusion from enumeration of the males who were in Kúlu or on pilgrimage to Ráwalsir, &c. Women also leave Spiti, but not in such numbers as men. The population has probably not increased much, if any. The streams are cutting out lower beds for themselves, and land once irri-

GATED AND THEREFORE CULTIVATED IS NOW LYING WASTE. P. 94

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

gated and therefore cultivated is now lying waste. There is not much enterprise among the Spiti people, and their trade has not been increasing as in Láhaul."

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

In Láhaul the women outnumber the men in the proportion of 107 to 100, so far as the Census figures of 1881 show. But if the number of Láhaulis absent from Láhaul at the time of the Census be considered, the excess of women will not be so great; for it is customary to leave the old and infirm women behind in Láhaul when the rest of the family goes to Kúlu for the winter. In Spiti the figures show women to men in the proportion of 111 to 100. But this does not represent the normal state of the population, as many males were absent on a pilgrimage to Ráwalsir in Mandi at the time of the Census.

Proportion of the sexes.

SECTION B.—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

The houses in Láhaul and Spiti are very different in appearance from those of Kúlu or Kángra; they are two and sometimes three storeys high with flat roofs; the lower storey is occupied by the cattle, horses, and sheep and goats; the upper one contains the rooms lived in by the family. In Spiti these rooms are commonly three in number, and surround on three sides an open court; one of them is the family chapel, which is ordinarily very well furnished with images, large prayer cylinders, religious pictures, books, and sacramental vessels; the others are good-sized rooms lighted by small windows hung with wooden shutters, the largest is about 20 feet square, and has a roof supported by a double row of upright posts. At the corners of the house are flag-staffs consisting of poles from which hang black *yaks'* tails. The walls are white-washed inside and out, and neatly topped with a coping of fagots. In Láhaul the houses are smaller, and less care and taste are expended in building and adorning them. Ordinarily the upper storey consists of an interior or winter room, an outer or summer room, and a verandah room open on the fourth side. In this verandah stands the loom; inside will be found large corn-chests made of slate* set in wooden frames, large stone bowls from Iskárdo, iron cauldrons, and cooking pots, an iron tripod or pot stand, some wooden dishes, and a few earthen pots from Kúlu. Many pack-saddles for sheep and goats are strewed about, and a few blankets and thick sheep-skin coats hang on the walls. Small holes in the wall serve the purpose both of windows and chimneys: bed-steads are unknown. Grass is stacked on the roof, and wood for fuel inside. This is a fair description of a house in the upper valleys of Láhaul; in the lower villages the rooms are larger and better ventilated. In Gárá many of the houses are built together in one block with connecting passages, by which communication is kept up in the winter without going out, which, when the snow is very deep, may be scarcely possible. Making thread is the chief occupation in winter; on fine days the loom is brought out, and some weaving done. Both men and women work the loom in Láhaul.

Houses and furniture.

* Very fine slate in large slabs is to be had in Láhaul; the quarry is in Ghúsa on the mid-Himalayan range.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

constantly exorcists and magicians, sharing no doubt very often the credulity of the people, but frequently assisting faith in their superhuman faculties by jugglery and fraud."

The Buddhism of the Panjáb Himalayas.

Prayer has been reduced to a mechanical operation, and the praying-wheel is a triumph of the Tibetan genius.* It consists of a cylinder turning on an axis and containing sacred texts and prayers, or sometimes gibberish, whose only merit is that it has a sort of rhythm. It is made of all sizes, from the pocket wheel to be turned on the hand as one walks along, to the common wheel of the village, which is turned by water, and prays for the community in general. Each revolution is equivalent to a recital of the prayer contained in the cylinder. Flags inscribed with prayers are fixed at the corners of the houses, and answer a similar purpose as they flap in the wind. Every village has its *mani* or stone dyke, sometimes nearly half a mile long, on which are flung small pieces of slate inscribed with mystic formulæ. "These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular object. Does a childless man wish for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of the winter? Each goes to a *lámá* and purchases a slate which he deposits carefully on the village *mani*, and returns home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard." These *manis* must always be left on the right hand, and people will make considerable detours in order to do so. Small shrines are erected in the fields to propitiate the deities and obtain an abundant harvest. The dead are sometimes burnt and the ashes preserved, in the case of great men, in a cenotaph; but corpses are often exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers.

The Hindú Buddhism of Láhaul.

Spiti is the only portion of British territory whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists. But though the Census figures shown in the margin would draw a line of the sharpest and most definite kind between the religions of Hindúism and Buddhism where they meet in the mountains of the Kúlu sub-division, yet the actual line of demarcation is by no means so clearly marked. On this subject Mr. Alexander Anderson, the officer in charge of Kúlu, writes:—

Tract.	Hindú.	Buddhist.	Muhammadan.	Others.
Kúlu	99,626	...	633	61
Láhaul ...	4,304	...	25	20
Spiti	1	2,500	...	1

"In Kúlu, including *mauzá* Rúpi and outer and inner Seoráj, the population is Hindú with scarcely an exception. In Spiti the only religion is Buddhism. In Láhaul there is a mixture of Hindúism and Buddhism. Since the last Census, Hindúism in Láhaul has advanced, and Buddhism

* The praying wheel is peculiar to Tibet, where it was generally used at least as early as 400 A. D.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

foot. This made it very difficult for the Indians who wanted the gold to obtain it, and the only method found possible was to fetch the gold day by day when the ants slept, and bear it away on swift horses. Ants said to be of this wonderful species, were pointed out to Dr. Francke, but they must have considerably shrunk since the days of their fame, for they were now of normal size. But what sort of people inhabited the land in these ancient times? Doubtless, the first dwellers were Tibetan nomads, who wandered about on the immense upland plains of the Himalayas with their large flocks of sheep, goats, and yaks, moving on from pasture to pasture as they still do, so slowly does the East change.

Even now one need go only as far as the Chantang, some ten marches from Leh, to see just the same pictur as these far-off days presented. Still each family has its fu ..y little black tent, woven of yak's hair, and with a large hole in the roof to let out the smoke, for the food is cooked on an open fire within. Two or three families settle down with their herds in one place until the grass is exhausted, when they move on to the next grazing ground. Abraham in his day must have lived similarly on a larger scale. These nomads were probably adherents of the old religion, called the "Bon Chos," from which arise the elements of demon-worship in the Lamaism of to-day. About this time Indian Buddhism was manifesting a keen missionary spirit, and sending out men to spread its doctrine and enlightenment far and wide. Among those some came to the Western Himalayas leaving traces of religion which had come up direct from India, not *via* Tibet. Thus on a medical tour to the neighbouring province of Zankskar, a village was found where almost every fourth man wore the yellow saffron robe of the down-country Buddhist priest. The descendants of these early missionaries called Mons are still plentiful in the land, yet they have remained quite distinct from the original inhabitants. If you want a door made, you must fetch the Mon carpenter. If you want to hear of the brave

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER X

"Curiouser & Curiouser"

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●162

YET another trek awaits us, for we have not yet seen the Changpä, the nomad who wanders over the high plateaus of Western Tibet, and the Botpa who is the real inhabitant of the Closed

648 Land. A dispute about the actual boundary between Ladak and Tibet must be settled on the border itself whither the British Joint Commissioner, Major Robson, who holds a watching brief for the Government of India, the Wazir Sahib, who represents his Highness, the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the Doctor Sahib, who accompanies the former, must travel to meet a gentleman who is styled the "Gaspon," and who acts on behalf of His Holiness, the Dalai Lama.

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648 The cause of the dispute was a Ladaki who had settled down in Tibet proper, where he had taken unto himself a lady of the country as wife, and had grown rich. As a result he became liable for the heavy Tibetan taxation, and, wishing to escape this, he returned to Ladak and settled down on his own side of the border. But our Tibetan friends were not to be done out of their taxes quite so easily, for they calmly entered Ladak, seized their man, and took him back again. His brother then appealed to the Kashmir authorities and the Government of India on his behalf, and these naturally objected to such high-handed procedure. Tibet tried to contest the matter by saying that the place from which they had removed the Ladaki was in Tibetan territory, but from

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

other lesser events in the family activities and even in the surrounding neighbourhood, all are used to exploit the credulity and fears of a primitive people for the enrichment in money and power of a set of priests, themselves with little education, save the reading of their "holy" books. Thus, apart from the exercise of these functions, the lamas, who are said to constitute almost one third of the population, lead useless lives of indolence and indulgence, contributing nothing to the economical and certainly not to the spiritual welfare of their fellow countrymen, but merely absorbing their hard-earned riches in parasitical luxury. As an observer from the Chinese side has recorded, "Lamaism is responsible for having sapped the manhood of Mongolia of its energy and initiative, and deadened its intellect." By segregating such a large proportion of its young manhood into an enforced and false celibacy, it lowers the birth-rate as well as the moral standard of the country. How infinitely removed are these evil practices from the pure teachings of the Buddha, whose name has been associated with the veneer of reform introduced into this devil-worship. The wonder is that the people remain as wholesome and cheery as they do, and no visitor to Ladak will deny the attractiveness of this sturdy hill race.

Indeed they are part of that lure of Ladak which every year provides the British Joint Commissioner with a waiting list for travellers desiring passes far longer than that of the successful applicants. Falling into a different category from the ordinary visitor is the sportsman, whose pass is included in his shooting license, men, and even women, to whose primeval hunting instincts the great hills call. The mere traveller may be lured by the everlasting hills also, or the peculiar bare country, or its strange inhabitants and their quaint customs. The mere joy of the road calls some, while few can on arrival resist being curio hunters, and during their brief visits concentrate their attention on any of the following: the cups of rare china, the more common wooden ones lined wtih silver,

121 reached northwestern India, or, rather, the
101 foothills of the Himalayas on the Indian side, we heard that a certain amount of polyandry existed among the hill people.
121 We went up to where they were reported
101 to exist and found that polyandry had died
131 out, but kept on looking further until we
595 actually ended up on the Tibetan plateau,
103 about 12,000 feet up, and found a very active polyandrous society among both the nomads of Rupchu (a plateau bordering on Kashmir and Tibet) and the inhabi-
[162] tants of Ladak. The latter is a province of what today is the state of Kashmir, entirely inhabited by Tibetans and situated in the upper Indus valley at the point where the Indus leaves Tibet and enters Indian territory. Later, we went towards central Tibet and investigated polyandry in Sikhim, which is a little state bordering on Tibet and sandwiched between the states of Nepal and Bhutan in the east.

121 The people living in western Tibet live
131 in an isolated position. The country is
595 very barren and, because of the altitude and the difficulties of travel, the people are
114 very inaccessible. These, naturally, are excellent conditions for such a peculiar custom as polyandry to survive and I am sure that, if Tibetan polyandry is so active and well-preserved as it is there, it is due to the physical environment which favors isolation among these people. In the area we visited, 90 per cent of the population was polyandrous and I understand that nearly all the inhabitants of the vast
[10] Tibetan country, of which there are something like three million, are polyandrous, though, of course, it would take actual first-hand investigation to be absolutely sure that this is the case.

595 The polyandry practised among the Ti-
121 betans is of both the fraternal and the non-fraternal type, that is, when a young lady marries a young man she either marries all his brothers regardless of age (she can even be the wife of children born after her marriage), or she can take as many husbands as she desires, without their being related as brothers, at her discretion. I

shall try to show why in some cases polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-fraternal.

The province of Ladak, which I visited, is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an ancient form of the language. Tibet, of course, is run by the Lamaist church and the head of the country is the Dalai Lama. The former kings of Tibet have taken refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D. and live in the castle of Leh. The town is very characteristic of Tibetan towns. Flat-roofed houses are very well built on the side of high mountains. The altitude is 12.000 feet, the entire area is snowed in during the winter, and the people live mostly in their houses and do not go out.

These Tibetan houses are not very different from our own western type of houses, except in one respect. The kitchen here has no chimney, so it can be imagined how much smoke fills the room when they cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind; though we personally found it very difficult to stand upright in their kitchens when they were cooking and so spent most of our time there on all fours, to avoid the smoke and keep our eyes from watering. The people suffer from eye trouble because of this practice and yet they seem to stick to it in a very curious manner.

The characteristic dress of the Ladak women is of red cloth such as the men wear. They have a sheepskin toga which they throw over their shoulders and a very characteristic head-dress, made of a piece of red felt with two enormous ears of black wool. The red felt band is studded with turquoises at the back, family heirlooms, handed down from mother to daughter. Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

The men are tough-looking. They very often have their right shoulders bare; though sometimes they have a Chinese shirt thrown over them. When they are working, they usually have the right shoulder uncovered, however cold the weather may be. Looking at Tibetan children, one could imagine at first sight

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KERALA AW11

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stinct and for the orderly social procreation of offspring. Formally, it is more difficult to say why this institution has taken on this curious appearance. As far as I know, authors so far have been rather at a loss to furnish a satisfactory explanation. Many, of course, have been given, with a great amount of variety in their choice.

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For instance, we are given historical explanations. In India they say people have been polyandrous for many centuries; that there are indications, such as archaeological (about the Heftalite Huns, 6th c. A.D.) and literary (the Indian epic poem, the Mahabarata), that the people in this area, both Aryan and non-Aryan, were polyandrous in antiquity. Economic reasons for this have been given; *i.e.*, that the country is poor, that nomadism among Todas or Tibetans, in earlier times, perhaps led to a polyandrous society in order to limit the number of children. Then, demographical explanations have been given, that there is an excess of males over females in this society, and that they have to be polyandrous for that reason. For instance, the Todas practise female infanticide and this is given as a reason for their polyandry. Their men drink a lot of milk, and some people say that the fact that they have more proteins in their diet in this fashion produces more male offspring than female. I do not pretend to know how far this biological explanation is true. Sociological reasons have also been given, namely, that the men travel and have to leave one brother at home with the wife (a reason which I hinted at earlier). In east and south India, the people known as the Nayars, who once could also be called polyandrous, had a very definite military organization (somewhat like that of the Sikhs in the north), and that has been given as a reason why a people is polyandrous: one brother can always remain at home with the wife while the other is away serving with the colors.

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It seems to me that these explanations are not sufficient. As far as the historical

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To 114 reasons are concerned, the Mahabarata epic is the only case of its kind in the whole of India. The Todas, when you ask why they are polyandrous, always say "Because we are the same people as those of the Mahabarata", but I am convinced that they have got this explanation from the anthropologists and not the other way around! As far as the economic reasons are concerned, these also seem to me insufficient, because there are people living in the same area, in the same physical environment, who are not polyandrous. Even the Tibetans, when they become Moslems, though their environment does not change, suddenly cease being polyandrous and live in the Islamic fashion. The rich Tibetans in central Tibet are also polyandrous, and obviously not for economic reasons.

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T, 162 792 To 847 162 As regards the demographic reasons, the following statistics will show that there is not always an excess of males over females. In the Leh *tehsil* in Ladak, where I was, there are 14,760 men to 14,650 women, which is approximately equal. The excess of single women among the Tibetans (there are some left over, naturally, considering the number of brothers who have one wife) usually go into a monastery and become nuns. That is the way they solve their problem. The Todas, on the other hand, practise female infanticide, so that there are less women than men. However, back in Tibet, in the same town of Leh, one finds that the Hindus who live there number 36 men and 13 women, and yet they are monogamous. In southern India, there is a Moslem community known as the Moplahs, in which there are five men to one woman, and they are polygynous rather than polyandrous. Even in Europe, the Bulgars have 35,000 more men than women and yet, though they may have many faults, they certainly are not polyandrous.

To 162 As far as the Todas are concerned, out of the 600-odd that exist, there are 340 men and 237 women, so that it really looks as if the reason given might be true in

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes.

Here and there, all over Lahul, Buddhist monuments which are so typical of Tibet are to be seen along the road side. These include *chöiens* (*mCh'hod-rTen*), Tibetan equivalents of the Indian funerary *stupas*, and *mani* walls. The first are cenotaphs erected by the pious in order to gain merit, the others are long walls made up of large slabs of stone on which prayers have been inscribed; generally, the prayer *Om Mani Padme Hung* is the principal one to be seen, and hence the name *mani* for these walls. Around the fields near the houses of the cultivators, and in greater numbers clustering round monasteries known here as *gompas* (*Gon-pa*), tall, white banners, also printed all over with consecrated prayers, can be seen fluttering in the wind. They are prayer flags and, while they bring a sense of security to those who believe in their efficiency in combatting evil spirits, they are also very decorative, greatly enhancing the picturesqueness of the landscape.

2. POPULATION

It is difficult to estimate exactly what the number of the population in Lahul really is. A census can only be taken in the summer when the winter snows have thawed, and at that time most Lahulis leave for neighbouring regions and many emigrants (mainly graziers) come in. It is estimated that the figure should be in the neighbourhood of 10,000 inhabitants, that is to say, a very small one. The entire region is sparcely populated, with everybody living almost exclusively in the three main valleys. There are no real towns, but quite a few villages, which stand in their fields and not on spurs of hills as is often the case in hilly country. It is mainly visiting shepherds who take flocks to the summer pasturages.

The people of Lahul are a mixed collection. They speak four distinctly different languages and belong mainly to two principal religions. These are Hinduism and Buddhism, but it cannot be said that a clear cut distinction exists between the adherents of the two since many profess to belong to both. There are also some low-caste menials, blacksmiths called Lohars (Garas (*mGar-ba*) in Tibetan) and agriculturalists called Shipis or Dagis, who appear to follow some primitive form of animism. The pure Hindus of Lahul are Brahmins, very exclusive in their behaviour, and the Buddhists are all of the Ka-gyut-pa (*bK-brGyut-pa*) or Drug-pa (*aBrug-pa*) sect of lamaism from Bhutan. This is a more

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

595 601 brothers called Tseten and Tashi Norbu, who had originally been married together with them to a common wife. With her they had had one son, Chömpel, an albino, now about 18 years old. He still lived in the Karpa house, groping about like a blind man in the daylight, as I was to see on another occasion. With the death of their common wife, the two elder men went each their own way, and married into other families, as shown in the genealogy. The two younger men remained in sole possession of the Karpa house and were remarried polyandrously to a new wife. It was after Tsering Tashi had brought back a wife for himself from a trip to another part of Lahul that this formerly common wife became exclusively that of the younger man, Dön-drup, as described above. Was this state of affairs in this household a sign that polyandry was breaking up in Lahul? I wondered at the time, and questioned the Thakur on this point during the conversation.

595 [594] When we entered the Karpa house, the wife of Dön-drup (who had formerly been both his and his elder brother's common wife) sprinkled tea with a branch of juniper on the floor ahead of us as a gesture of welcome. Thakur Partap Chand thanked her with folded hands and [988] recited some *mantra* (religious formula) before stepping onto the wet places.

595 162 [795] To my question as to how many were polyandrous in the valley of Lahul, the Wazir replied that forty households out of a total of sixty, in Kyelang alone, practised polyandry. And this included Christian families too, he said, who, of course, were not polyandrous. In the capital at least, there was thus a proportion of three to one who lived in polyandry, and there appeared to be every reason to believe that this same figure held good for the whole area in which Lahulis of Tibetan cultural affinity were to be found. Consequently there seemed to be no grounds for believing that polyandry was breaking up.

595 198 Asked about signalling at the door when one of the husbands was occupied with the common wife, the Thakur told me that this used to be done in "ancient days", when the man left his hat or his beads at the door to show that he was inside. It was not done any longer, he assured me.

595 428 I enquired what a *mag-pa* was, since that was a word that was used to denote the status taken by the two elder brothers who, some time back, had married into other houses at the death of the first common wife whom they all shared. I received a rather confused explanation at the time which I did not very well undertsand, and it was only a few days later, when talking with the Reverend F. A. Peter, that it was

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Trade routes through Ladak are important, and there are three principal roads: that to Central Asia, to Sinkiang in China, over the Karakorum Pass (18,550 ft.) from Leh towards the north; that to Tibet along the upper course of the Indus (eventually going on beyond the divide with the waters of the Brahmaputra towards Shigatse and Lhasa in U-Tsang); and that to Srinagar, capital of Kashmir, to the west, which used to be called the Indo-British Treaty Road (really a prolongation and continuation of the Central Asian road). The road from Kulu which I had followed is only a secondary one, and that over Rupchu is not worth considering at all as an artery for trade.

Scenically, Ladak resembles Tibet more than it does Lahul. In Rupchu, which, strictly speaking, is a part of Ladak, although an isolated one, I already noticed that I was no longer in country like the valleys of Lahul. I was on high plateau, with mountain ranges around me which did not seem particularly high but which in reality, because of the altitude at which I already found myself and from which I observed them, were among the highest anywhere. With the Indus valley, although still at an altitude of over 10,000 feet, I reached a milder environment. Here, there were trees and grass growing along the banks of the river and its affluents. Villages were visible, high up, above the long stretches of rocks and shingle brought down by rivers in spate, where glacier water runs on the surface before going on underground to link up with the main watercourse in the valley. *Chötens*, *mani* walls and large *gompas* were everywhere to be seen, as befits a Buddhist, Tibetan lamaist country.

2. *Population*

The population of Ladak at the time of my visit was estimated at 32,999. It was divided up into the conventional distinctions between Buddhists (29,410),[1] Mohammedans (3,470), Hindus and Sikhs (49) and Christians (70). The proportion of men to women (important among a people practising polyandry) was given to me as 14,760 men to 14,650 women for the Buddhists, as 1,730 men to 1,740 women for the Moslems, 36 to 13 for the Hindus and Sikhs (who rarely bring their women with them to these distant parts) and 37 to 33 for the Christians (nearly all converts of the Moravian Mission). As can be seen, the bulk of the population is made up of the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan extraction. They nearly all belong to the *Drug-pa* sect, although there are also rep-

[1] The low-caste Mōns, Garas and Bhedas, all artisans, were apparently included among the Buddhists, although their religion appears more akin to animism.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

resentatives of the other lamaist sub-divisions, the *Gelug-pa* (*dGe-Lugs-pa*) or Yellow Hats and the *Nyingma-pa* (*sNing-ma-pa*) or Red Hats. The Moslems are all Shias, often called Baltis because of their affinity to those people. An exception are the Sinkiang Turki and Uigur merchants who live in Leh and constitute a foreign minority; these people are orthodox Sunnis. They have intermarried with the local Buddhist Ladaki women, and their offspring are known in Leh as *Argons*; there are about 300 of these, and they are classified with the Moslems, to whose religion they always belong. A small ethnic group of distinctively different racial appearance, is constituted by the Dards living in the extreme west of Ladak. Culturally they are Buddhists like the bulk of the population, but they are fair with blue eyes, and their features are those of the Nordics of Europe.

The language spoken in the whole of Ladak is a dialect of Tibetan, the characteristic of which is that it is more archaic in form than the Tibetan spoken in Lhasa, where the language has gone through a process of considerable evolution. Dogra is spoken by the ruling officials of the Kashmir State and the Dards have a tongue of their own, an Aryan language.

In physical appearance, the ordinary Ladaki men and women resemble their Tibetan cousins in that they have broad, mongoloid faces, slit eyes and black, straight hair. The men, however, have more hair on their faces that the average Tibetan can grow, and this is a distinctive characteristic. The masculine costume is the same as I have described earlier for Rupchu, and I should add that both sexes wear their hair long, but plaited at the back. Washing among the peasantry is resorted to very little, and the general appearance of the Ladakis is untidy and dirty, not to mention the fact that they smell strongly. When the weather gets chilly in the winter, or when a voyage to some other part of the country necessitates going through a colder area, more clothes are simply worn over those already on the body, and temperatures are measured by the number of gowns one is obliged to put on.

The houses of the peasants and of the majority of the inhabitants of Leh are solid structures built of stone in traditional Tibetan style. They are pleasant to look at with their flat roofs, white-washed walls and gaily painted doors and windows (the lower part of which is usually broader that the upper part), but they have the drawback of having a stable for the horses and mules on the ground floor, and no chimney in the kitchen, the smoke being allowed to find its own way out through the cracks and joints of the ceiling and roof.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such a way that the ploughing, transport and marketing of goods is done by the men, while the women milk the cows and *dzos*, feed them, sow and weed the fields. Trading further afield is the responsibility of the men, and, as everywhere in areas of Tibetan culture, they do not hesitate to undertake great journeys of many thousands of miles lasting months and in some cases years. Apricots are a great speciality of Ladak, exported in dry form far and wide, and enjoying a great reputation as being of the best variety.

Borax is produced in Rupchu, and salt comes from evaporation of the brackish waters of the lakes. There is a certain amount of gold, too, to be found in the rivers, and in some parts it is even mined, as it is further afield in the Ngari Korsum province of Tibet.

6. *Leh*

Leh (spelt *sLa* in Tibetan) is a large village situated at an altitude of 11,503 feet, in the Indus valley, some distance from the river, on the right bank, high up in a side valley, where the water from glacier formations above enters the ground to run subterraneously down to the main stream. Below it, close to the river bank, is Spituk (*sPitug*) with its ancient monastery on a stone hillock, dominating the plain.

The population of Leh is certainly much greater now than it was then. In 1938, it was only 2,377, and it was divided up into the same religious denominations as we have seen earlier for the whole of Ladak. There were 1,287 Buddhists (with the same reservations concerning low castes as before), 991 Mohammedans, 43 Sikhs Hindus and 56 Christians.

The Buddhists, it can be seen, constituted the vast majority. They were all those Ladakis of Tibetan affinity, whose mongoloid features made them immediately and easily recognizable. Among them, there were reported to be 650 men to 637 women.

The Moslems included Kashmiris from the valley, Turki, Uigur and Yarkandi traders from Sinkiang in Central Asia, Argons or those whose fathers had taken local Ladaki women as wives, and a few Baltis from the neighbouring sub-division. There were 447 men to 544 women in this religious community. Among the Hindus and Sikhs there were 30 men to 13 women. The community was only a temporary one made up of officials and employees of the Kashmir State. The Christians were all converts of the Moravian Mission, 31 men to 25 women. Leh is the principal station of this Mission in Western Tibet, with another station in Kalatse, lower down the Indus.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

profession is hereditary, and although the other members of the family lived as peasants, one of the sons, usually the eldest, was educated as a doctor and became proficient in the trade, extra to the otherwise habitual agricultural work.

In the *k'hang-chen*, we found no less than four married men, sharing a very young wife (I was told that she was only fifteen, but considering that she had five children already, I feel that this could not have been true). The genealogy of the family is given here in Table 32.

The informant, Chonde, had two sisters, one older and one younger. They were both married off in *bag-ma*, and the youngest proved to be Tsewang Rolma whom we had met in the Tsang-bi Household, where she was wed to Tsang Dondrup as his second wife.

Of the informant's children, one, the third, had became a lama, while the fifth had preferred to go and be the *mag-pa* of the Amchi family (a related doctor's household, but bearing the name of the trade as a patronimic) than to remain at home with his brothers and share their common wife.

I did not visit another polyandrous household and make its genealogy until the 17th September 1938. And when I did so, it was at Chushod, opposite Leh, on the left bank of the Indus. Most of the inhabitants of this town are Musulmans, but there are a few Buddhist famililes among them, and it was interesting to see how they had retained their customs, including polyandry.

The family which Nono Tse-P'hün had specially brought me to see, however, was one in which there was a *porjag*, that is an extra man brought in when the husband or husbands fail to produce a child with their wife. The household name of this family was *Shing-k'hang pa* (*Shing-K'hang-pa*), and it consisted of only one man and his wife, Rigzin and Ishe Palkid, to which a younger man, the *porjag*, called Paldan, had been added. I made their genealogy, which I give in Table 33. It will be seen that other members of the household had left it to marry outside: Ngawang Standzin to become a lama, another brother of Rigzin, Skalzang, to become a *mag-pa*, a sister, now called Amina, who, having married a Musulman and changed her religion, was not considered to be part of the Buddhist community any longer, and Ishe Paljor, the youngest, who was a *porjag* in the Bata household (see Table 34).

The *k'hang-gu* in the fields of this household stood empty, its occupants, Rigzin's parents, P'huntzok and Paldzom, being dead now. The *k'hang-chen* which we visited was a house of normal Ladaki pro-

1; Drew G-S (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

142 Ladākhīs, as before said, have a receding one; the Chāmpās,
181 again, have a more expressive mouth. They are a most hardy and a most cheerful set of people. Living all their lives in a severely cold climate, and getting a scanty subsistence, they still have the best of spirits. When, after a day's journey, they collect round the scanty fire that is warming their evening meal, their merry laughter shows what a good heart they can keep in what, to strangers, seem to be the hardest of circumstances.
[221] Their lives are spent in tents; they stay for a month or two at a time in one spot, to graze their flocks and herds, and then they move with them whither the advancing season promises better pasture. Some few details of their way of living will be given when we come to describe the country itself which they frequent.

291 The dress of the Chāmpās is almost the same as that of the Ladākhīs, only that some of them wear the long wide coat of lamb-skin, instead of woollen cloth.

582 As a rule the Chāmpās and Ladākhīs do not intermarry. The
563 religion of the two is the same, but it lies light on the Chāmpās.
162 Their young men do not become Lāmās. The number of these Chāmpās within this territory is very small; there are hardly more than a hundred families of them. Ethnologically they are not different from those who inhabit the next tracts to the south-east—country which is under the Government of Lhāsa.

COLONIES IN LADAKH.

565 There are some families who come and go with the summer,
221 and a very few who have settled, of a race called *Khamba*. They are of the country named Kham, far to the east of Lhāsa. By what road they first came from their own country I know not, but now they reach the districts of Zānskār and Rupshu from, strange to say, the side of India. They are of Tibetan race, and their language, though different from that of our Chāmpās, still can be understood by them. The Khamba are professional beggars, of a very vagrant disposition; they wander about some part of India in the cold months, and find their way up here in the summer,
565 subsisting by begging. It is strange that they should come to such

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir W. Tibetans AJ4

181 The people have, as has before been implied, the characters
197 which were described under the head "Ladākhīs." They have, indeed, the better of these characteristics in a higher degree than the rest of the Ladākhīs. The Zānskārīs are the old-fashioned ones among them, retaining their simplicity of manners and their honesty without stain. The language has a slight dialectic difference from that of Leh; even in the various parts of Zānskār recognizable differences exist; but none of these seemed—as far as
162 I could gather—to be of great importance. The number
651 of inhabitants is very small. I have a list of forty-three villages, which may contain ten or twelve houses each; the total may be 500 houses and 2500 souls. The tax paid to the Maharaja's Government comes to a very small sum; it used to be 300*l.*, but in 1869
439 it was reduced to 200*l.* There is a trade, small in amount, but still important to the Zānskārīs, which is carried on by three or four routes. First, the people of Rupshu bring salt, and take barley in exchange. Secondly, some of the salt brought by the last-mentioned route goes to Pādar and Pāngī (by very difficult Passes over the Snowy Range), and is there exchanged for rice, butter and honey, and for skins. Thirdly, other of the salt acquired from Rupshu goes to Surū, whence comes in exchange pattū (woollen cloth), barley, and a little cash. Thus it seems that the Zānskār people export of their own productions only barley, if indeed they do that, for it is imported as well as exported. Their profit seems to lie in the trade for salt; by acting both as carriers and merchants of this they increase its value enough to provide themselves with the luxuries that must
[451] come from outside. A fourth line of traffic is with Lāhol, whence traders come with cash alone, and buy ponies, donkeys,
435 sheep, and goats. It is only by this branch of trade that cash
437 enough is introduced into the country to pay the Government tax. Nearly all the rest is done by barter: for instance, 7 lbs. or 8 lbs. of salt exchange in Zānskār for 1 lb. of butter; in Pāngī 3 lbs. or 4 lbs. only of salt would be given. Again, in Zānskār the proportion in value of salt to that of barley is such that 2 lbs. of salt exchange for 3 lbs. of barley.

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

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power, and inside a courtyard is a lofty square chamber in which the images and instruments of worship are kept. No women may enter this chamber. Every large family sends one of its sons to the monastery as a Lāma. He goes young as a pupil, and finishes his studies at Lhāsa. In a monastery there are two head Lāmas: one attends to spiritual, the other to temporal matters. The latter is known as the *Chagzot* or *Nupa*. He looks after the revenue of the lands which have been granted to the monastery, carries on a trade of barter with the people, and supervises the alms given by the villagers. He also enters into money-lending and grain transactions with the surrounding villages. Many monasteries receive subsidies from Lhāsa. The Lāmas wear a woollen gown dyed either red or yellow. The red Lāmas predominate in Ladākh. The red sect known as Drukpas are not supposed to marry while in the priesthood. Nunneries are frequently found near the monasteries of both sects, but the *Chomos*, or nuns of the yellow sect, have a higher character than those of the red sisterhood. About a sixth of the population of Ladākh is absorbed in religious houses. The Lāmas are popular in the country, are hospitable to travellers, and are always ready to help the villagers.

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Christian missions.

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There are two missions at Leh—the Moravian and the Roman Catholic. The Moravian Mission is an old and excellent institution, much appreciated by the people for its charity and devotion in times of sickness. The mission has a little hospital, whither the Ladākhis, whose eyes suffer from the dustiness of the air and the confined life in the winter, flock in great numbers.

Agriculture.

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The soil is sandy, and requires careful manuring, and nothing can be raised without irrigation. The chief crops are wheat, barley, beardless barley, peas, rapeseed, and beans in the spring; buckwheat, millets, and turnips in the autumn. Lucerne grass is grown for fodder. The surface soil is frequently renovated by top-dressings of earth brought from the hill-sides, and it is a common practice to sprinkle earth on the snow in order to expedite its disappearance. Fruit and wood are scarce, except in villages situated on the lower reaches of the Indus.

Beardless barley (*grim*) is the most useful crop, and can be grown at very high elevations (15,000 feet). In the middle of Ladākh the crop is secure if there be sufficient water; and in the lower villages the soil is cropped twice a year, as there is ample sunshine; but in Zāskār, which is near the high snowy

6:India G-3 (1931)1933 AVI Kashmir AVI
W.Tibetans AJ4

countries in Europe itself as also in Asia, Africa, and America offer a strong contradiction of this law by showing a higher record of males than females. The following proportion of females per 1,000 males in different countries has been worked out from the latest Census figures recorded in the statistical year-book of the League of Nations 1931-1932 (Geneva).

The countries arranged on the left side of the marginal table all show an excess of males over females and consequently carry a strong refutation of the charge levelled against the Indian Census where excess of males is wrongly imputed by these critics to the errors of omission. If these countries in spite of their having most up-to-date methods of taking Census and being sufficiently advanced to over-ride the prejudice against female enumeration can still show a preponderance of males it can be safely concluded that the attempt of these critics to declare the results of Western Europe as ideal is futile and no Census law demanding a preponderance of females in all populations can be laid down.

Females per 1,000 males.			
A.		B.	
1. U. S. A.	.. 976	1. United Kingdom	.. 1,086
2. Canada (1921)	.. 940	2. Hungary	.. 1,048
3. Alaska	.. 839	3. Spain	.. 1,027
4. Newzealand	.. 959	4. Germany	.. 1,066
5. Union of South Africa	.. 959	5. Austria	.. 1,085
6. Japan	.. 990	6. Belgium	.. 1,019
7. Newfound Land	.. 942	7. Australia	.. 1,004
8. Bulgaria	.. 907		
9. India (1931 Census)	.. 940		

126. General Proportions of the Sexes by Natural Divisions.—Out of the total population of 3,646,243 enumerated at the current Census 1,938,338 are males and 1,707,905 females which gives an excess of 230,433 males over the females. The proportion of females to 1,000 males at the current Census works to 881 against 890 of the 1921 Census and 887 of the 1911 Census. Instead of showing an increase the feminine proportion at the current Census has on the other hand actually decreased by 9 per 1,000 as compared with the preceding Census and the decrease has taken place in all the four Natural Divisions as will be seen from the marginal table.

Division.	No. of females per 1,000 of males.		
	1911.	1921.	1931.
Jammu and Kashmir State ..	887	890	881
1. The Sub-montane and Semi-mountainous Tract ..	846	864	864
2. The Outer Hills ..	918	923	905
3. The Jhelum Valley ..	872	857	852
4. The Indus Valley ..	978	966	940

The downward tendency is largely contributed by the comparatively large decreases of female proportion (20 per 1,000 males) in the Sub-montane and the Outer Hills Divisions *i. e.*, the Jammu Province which at the last Census showed large increases as compared with 1911.

Next comes the Jhelum Valley whose feminine proportion has dwindled (from 857 to 852) by 5 per thousand while in the Indus Valley the fall has been 16 per thousand.

Apart from the variation the above table shows that of the four Natural Divisions the proportion of females in the Indus Valley is the highest (940), then follow the Outer Hills (905), Sub-montane Tract (864) and the Jhelum Valley (852)

The Indus Valley.—This Natural Division comprising the districts of Ladakh, Gilgit and the Frontier Illaqas possesses the highest proportion of

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162

females i. e., 940 females per 1,000 males which is mainly contributed by the Ladakh district which possesses an approximately equal proportion of females per 1,000 of males. In Ladakh the Budhists have 1,008 females for every 1,000 males while amongst the Muslims who constitute the majority of the population the proportion is also highly satisfactory being 996 per 1,000 males. The population being mainly drawn from the Muslim and the Budhist religions which do not share the strong Hindu prejudice against female births naturally shows a favourable proportion of females which also receives great stimulus from the absence of the practice of female-infanticide prevalent among some Rajputs. The Muslim population of Ladakh district is composed of the adventurous Baltis with strong emigrating propensities and their absence from homes in search of labour swells the proportion of females during the winter when Census is generally taken. Moreover, the comparative late marriages amongst both the communities and especially the Budhists further lessen the female deaths by avoiding premature child-birth, and the agricultural and out-door life of the entire population keeps the females who materially assist their husbands in cultivation in a high tone of health and vitality which considerably reduces the incidence of mortality on the females. This is proved by the high proportion of the Budhist and Muslim females in the age-group 60 and over which has 988 Budhist and 897 Muslim females per 1,000 males as compared to 250 Hindu females per 1,000 males for which the fact that the Hindu and Sikh population of this division being mostly constituted of traders, shopkeepers and Government servants who are generally unaccompanied by their wives is also partly responsible. The proportion of female births in this division shown by the age-group 0-1 also discloses that Muslims and Budhists have 982 and 979 female children per 1,000 male children between (0-1) while Hindus and Sikhs have only 541 and 571 respectively which means that masculinity is low at birth among the Budhists and the Muslims of Ladakh.

K
162

In the Gilgit and the Frontier Illaqas the proportion of females is 778 and 882, the low proportion (778) of Gilgit being due to the presence of a large number of troops and State offficials who come to this distant tract single leaving their families behind. As regards the Frontier Illaqas which has 882 females per mille of males no remarks are needed since the proportion is on par with that of the whole State.

The Outer Hills.—The female proportion of the division is 905 per 1,000 males which is contributed materially by the Poonch Jagir having a high proportion of 950 females, partly due to number of its sons being employed in the rank and file of the British Army residing away from their homes.

Next come the Basohli tehsil and Udhampur district with 941 and 903. Reasi district (895), Kotli tehsil (888) and Chenani Jagir (842).

Sub-montane and Semi-mountainous Tract.—In this division the Mirpur and Bhimber tehsils show a better proportion of 936 females while Kathua and Jammu districts possess only 827 and 825. In the case of Mirpur the agricultural production being insufficient for the needs of the population a large amount of male population emigrates to the adjoining British districts to supplement their income by labour, service in the British Army or on the ships as sailors. This raises the proportion of the other sex. Further the population being predominantly Muslim in this district shows like Poonch a higher proportion than the proportion in the districts with a preponderance of Hindus such as Kathua and Jammu.

The Jhelum Valley.—The general proportion of females is 952[1] per 1,000 males. In this valley we find that Muzaffarabad has the highest proportion (881) while Kashmir South has the lowest (842) the intermediate position being occupied by the Kashmir North (Baramulla district). Although with a strong emigration current from the Kashmir valley to the plains during the winter due to the departure of large number of Kashmiri male labourers for work on the plains as also the movement of a large number of clerks unaccompanied by their families to Jammu one would have expected Kashmir to show a better proportion

[1] [Errata: read "852" for "952"; cf. errata sheet, P. 329, category 116 -- Analyst]

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca.1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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4

A Trip to Ladakh

fat; grease pervaded the atmosphere, in fact everything the monks touched, for they were filthily dirty, their red garments being more or less black with grease. Fortunately their heads were shorn. They seemed to be a happy lot of brothers, always ready to laugh and joke, in fact, just like the pictures of the monks of the West in days gone by.

There are nuns who live in separate buildings. Many of them are so like the monks that it is difficult to tell one from the other, at least to an unpractised eye, as the following incident will show.

A few days later I was in Leh with Dr Neve. He was in the hospital helping people to get well quickly. I stayed outside to try and cheer up the patients who were waiting their turn outside, as many of them seemed to be rather nervous and frightened. I noticed one person who seemed to look very depressed, who I thought was a monk and not living up to his usual jovial self, so I poked him in the ribs and told him to cheer up, when a voice called out to me from behind, but too late: "Take care what you are doing, for that lady is a nun." It was a Moravian missionary who spoke too late. Well, I did all that an English gentleman could do. I apologised most humbly, but the nun would not have any, and I failed to cheer her up.

Well, our triumphal march to the capital, Leh (a town with a population of 3000 in the winter, which grows to 6000 in the summer, when all the traders from east and west come in), was as entertaining as it was interesting. Monastery bands, town bands, feasts and polo matches succeeded one another, but the reception given to the Commissioner Sahib at Leh was the culmination of great doings. Seven miles from Leh, in the valley of the Indus, a large sandy plain, there met us a great cavalcade of